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Ransom, William Lynn

The making of a municipal platform

[New York]

[1913]

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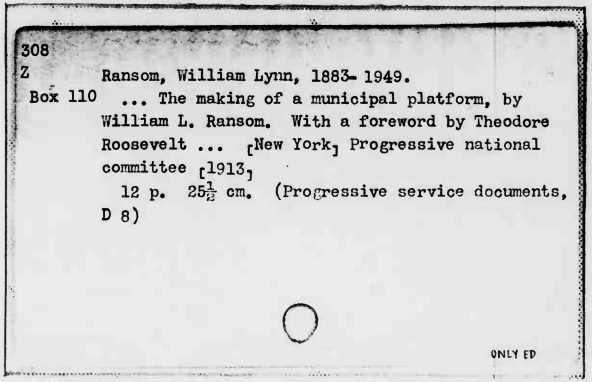
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Ransom, William Lynn, 1883- 1949.
... The making of a municipal platform, by William L. Ransom. With a foreword by Theodore Roosevelt ... [New York, Progressive national committee [1913,
12 p. 25½ cm. (Progressive service documents, D 8)

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**MAIN ENTRY:** Ransom, William Lynn

The making of a municipal platform

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## THE MAKING OF A MUNICIPAL PLATFORM

By
WILLIAM L. RANSOM

With a
FOREWORD

By
THEODORE ROOSEVELT

D 8 — May, 1913

Published by the
Progressive National Committee

# Progressive Service Documents Already Issued

D. 1. Describes the organization of the Progressive National Service.

D. 2. Colonel Theodore Roosevelt's Lincoln Day address at the Hotel Astor, February 12th, 1913.

**"We must make this nation a real democracy; an economic as well as a political democracy."**

D. 3. Ex-Senator Beveridge's Lincoln Day address at the Hotel Astor, February 12th, 1913.

**"So today we follow the way that Lincoln trod.....The times call for a new party today even more than in the time of Jefferson, of Jackson, or of Clay."**

D. 4. Speech of Colonel Theodore Roosevelt at the first annual Pennsylvania State Progressive Conference at Philadelphia, March 13th, 1913.

**"We intend to realize the new freedom for which this nation strives, by social research, in which information is the keynote; and then by the immediate translation of the knowledge thus acquired into action by a political organization in which service is the watchword."**

D. 5. "Sarah Knisley's Arm," a reprint of an article by Colonel Roosevelt in Collier's Weekly, dealing with the human aspect of the recall of judicial decisions.

D. 6. First Quarterly Report of the Progressive National Service.

**"It is nonpartisan in the sense that it nominates no candidates and makes no campaigns based upon individuals.....It places the burden not upon voting on election day but upon civic responsibility and duty the year around, locally and nationally."**

D. 7. Politics and Social Service, an address by the Director of the Bureau of Education, delivered before the Southern Sociological Congress, at Atlanta, April 29th, 1913.

**"What our political life needs more than anything else, to make it sound again, is continuous political responsibility in place of the sporadic political activity, which is now evoked only at election time."**

**ALSO:**

Contract with the People. The Platform of the Progressive Party, adopted August 7th, 1913.

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The above may be had upon application to the Bureau of Education of the Progressive National Service, Forty-Second Street Building, New York City, New York. A two-cent stamp should be enclosed for EACH document desired, to cover cost of mailing.

# FOREWORD

By

THEODORE ROOSEVELT

Unlike both the old Parties, the Progressive Party has a platform which in very important respects applies in local precisely as in State and National affairs. This may mean that in certain Cities the local Progressive Organization offers by far the best instrument for obtaining in Municipal matters Social and Industrial Justice through clear and efficient governmental action. But in many of our Cities, including all our biggest Cities, the conditions are so utterly different that our first effort must be to keep the local and national issues distinct.

In these larger cities, the problems of administration and policy are sometimes more formidable and difficult than those confronting many States; but the conditions of economic injustice, the opportunities for constructive governmental activity, and the consequences of retrogressive administration, all come a little more closely home to the citizen, than similar phases of State and National government sometimes do. It is not so much that the problems, the conditions, or the needs, are so much different, in municipal as compared with State and National administration, but that they are more obvious and undeniable. Thus it comes about that in these cities there are many good citizens who thus far — mistakenly, as we believe — oppose us on National and State-wide application of our fundamental principles and purposes, but are willing to join with us in giving local application to essentially the same humanitarian conceptions of government. They disagree with us, for instance, on the tariff, or on the power of the National government to deal with child labor and problems of the minimum wage, but agree with us that the powers of the municipal government should be actively employed to secure not merely honesty, economy and efficiency in administration, stability in public credit, and enforcement of the law, but also better housing and living conditions for wage-workers, more adequate means of effective, continuous control over franchise-holding public utilities, a more comprehensive system of public parks and playgrounds, a coordinated and cheapened system of transportation to make the suburban districts a unified part of the greater city, the socialization of the facilities for the public enjoyment of music, art, science, athletic diversions, and the like, a readjustment of taxation so as to make its burdens

more equitably distributed and the exercise of the taxing power of the State a factor for economic justice. These citizens are in doubt as to the desirability, for instance, of the introduction of the recall, the referendum, or the initiative, into State-wide or Nation-wide matters, yet are quite willing to establish the rule of the people in municipal affairs, through the introduction of suitable forms of these expedients. They doubt whether minimum wage legislation, in the form which it has taken in some of the nations of the world, is consonant with our economic and political theories, or they doubt whether our conditions yet call for the enactment of such legislation in the State of New York; yet they readily acquiesce in our view that every large City should begin at once to do its part and make its contribution toward solving the problem of the minimum wage, through the establishment of suitable educational facilities for vocational and "continuation" training, along lines which will give every boy and girl a chance for a schooling of practical value, thereby obviating the possibility that he or she will ever be a problem for the student of the minimum wage. Many citizens who are not yet progressives, with either a large or a small P, in National affairs, are liberals of demonstrated tendencies in municipal matters. It is surely desirable that all citizens who agree on these fundamental matters of municipal policy, and who desire to work for substantially the same ends in municipal affairs, should come together and act together in the war against both the forces of reaction and privilege and the forces of sheer corruption and lawlessness.

This has nothing whatever to do with party amalgamation, and to be successful it must have nothing whatever to do with that kind of fusion which consists merely in dickering for division of offices among various political organizations. It must represent the joint action of decent citizens, irrespective of their several attitudes on national politics, on behalf of a platform plainly expressing the fundamental needs of the local situation, and on behalf of candidates whose characters and expressed convictions are such that the sincerity of their acceptance of the platform is evident.

# The Making of a Municipal Platform

**Address by William L. Ransom, Esq., Chairman of the Platform Committee of the Progressive Party in the City of New York, at the Municipal Conference Dinner, Held Under the Auspices of the New York Progressive County Committee, at the New Star Casino on May 12, 1913.**

[This address was delivered at a "dinner conference" of more than 2,000 persons, called to discuss the attitude and policy of the Progressive Party in the New York City election of 1913. The occasion was therefore recognized as the "opening gun" of the municipal campaign of the present year, and as having an important, and perhaps historic, bearing upon the determination and development of the Progressive Party policy in municipal elections in large cities — a problem of party policy with which New York Progressives are now dealing for the first time. This fact, together with the fact that the New York City Committee to formulate a Progressive Municipal Platform includes in its membership, in addition to Mr. Ransom, Professor Samuel McCune Lindsay, Dean George W. Kirchwey, Dr. Henry Moskowitz, Mr. Amos Pinchot, and others who played an important part in the formulation of the Progressive National and State Platforms, gave to the address of the Chairman of the Municipal Platform Committee, as in some respects amplified for the purposes of the present publication, an obvious significance on the vital question of the Progressive Party policy towards problems of municipal administration throughout the United States.]

I have the honor to be the chairman of a Committee which, in behalf of the members of the Progressive Party in the five Boroughs of Greater New York, has been endeavoring to draft a municipal platform for the City election. It is a Committee of seventy, men and women, whose members were apportioned among the five Boroughs and Counties on the basis of relative population, and chosen through the regular channels of the party organizations in each of the five Counties. Never before in the affairs of this City has any political party framed its platform in such a manner; never before has platform-making been put out in the open, where all the people could see; never before has there been so conscientious and careful an effort to build a platform which expresses only the views and the aspirations of the rank and file of the citizenship of New York.

From the first, this Committee has proceeded on the theory that in the Progressive Party there are no leaders so powerful and no experts so wise, as to be entitled to force upon that party a platform which its members do not want and which does not represent the views of the overwhelming majority of the party voters. In pursuance of that point of view, meetings have been held by the Committee practically every week since the first of March. Every citizen is being given opportunity, at public hearings held by the committee, to submit for consideration on its merits his suggestion on any subject. Every meeting has represented an effort to find out what the rank and file of the members of the party want in the way of platform, and then put those views in concrete and

effective form. The members of a political party should not only nominate its candidates, but also determine the substance of its platform. That is the Progressive way of making a party platform and we challenge any political party or any municipal group hereafter to frame its municipal platform in any less public way! And when the Platform Committee finishes its work, the platform prepared and recommended by it will go to the City Convention of the party, for adoption, modification, or rejection, as the party voters represented in that body see fit.

Last August in Chicago, the Progressive Party adopted its first National platform, and both the old political parties have already been compelled, in many States, to enact much legislation which they had hitherto ignored. Last September, at Syracuse, the Progressive Party put forward its first State platform, and both old-party organizations were compelled to give to their State platforms a tone and a substance which they never had before and never would have had but for the Progressive Party. And now, in the greatest American City, we are framing our first municipal platform, which shall be not merely whip and spur to the laggard liberalism of every other political group, but also chart and compass for the municipal administration of the future. In other words, we are endeavoring to work out a platform which will be to municipal administration in the City of New York what the Progressive National Platform is to National administration, and what the New York State Progressive Platform, adopted last September at Syracuse, is to standards of State administration.

In what I say tonight regarding the platform, I do not assume to make any official or final announcement of the determinations of the Platform Committee. I shall only indicate some of the lines along which we have been working, and make a preliminary report of progress to you from whom we derive our only authority. I shall refer only to matters upon which there is a substantially unanimous agreement among the members from all of the five Boroughs. I shall endeavor to indicate to you the *point of view* of the Platform Committee, the *standards or tests* by which its action is being determined; and I do this, at this time, in order that you may make known to us whether we are going ahead along the lines you would have us follow.

First: Let it be perfectly clear that the Platform Committee does not conceive that it has anything to do with the selection of candidates or the availability of candidates. Party nominations will, of course, be made through the process prescribed by law. Our task has been merely to formulate a constructive liberal program applicable to the City government. If members of the Committee have preferences between any persons so far mentioned as possible candidates for any office, that fact has not, so far as I have been able to discern, exercised any influence upon any act of the committee. We are concerned with measures and not with men. Not the least attractive feature of the work of the Platform Committee has been that its membership was determined and its work undertaken before either alignment or serious discussion as to candidates had really begun. The platform will be formulated first, and then the Progressive City Committee will be asked to "designate," and the members of the Progressive Party in the party primaries to nominate, candidates who will measure up to the platform. There has not been, and I am confident that there will not be, the slightest disposition to place any obstacle in the way of the effective co-operation of every liberal civic element in the community. On the contrary, we seek only to crystallize



and make concrete the constructive liberal sentiment of the whole City, and thus create the only basis upon which an anti-Tammany campaign could be successful this year, or at all worth while, whether or not successful. Especially is no hostility intended to the work of the Citizens' Municipal Committee. From the bottom of my heart, I hope and believe the Citizens' Committee will, by the determination of the majority of its members, present municipal candidates who will stand upon such a platform as the Progressive Party will formulate. I hope, as well as believe, that such will be the case, for the reason that it is preferable that the definite alignment of the liberal elements in all three parties, as a force for municipal reform, shall come about outside the party lines and organization of any of the National political parties. With marked tendencies in that direction obviously at work, we should be false to our declared principles of municipal administration if we wantonly placed any obstacle in the way. I can only speak my personal view that any political party, or faction of a political party, which assumes responsibility for any act preventing effective anti-Tammany action in the approaching campaign will never again be able to win public confidence in this City, State or Nation. Members of the Progressive Party and good citizens generally, throughout the Nation, have their eyes upon the Progressive Party in the City of New York, and expect us here to be an active, decisive factor in a victory this fall for the permanence of real municipal reform in the City of New York.

Second: There is a unanimous view on the part of your Committee that this campaign must be waged in behalf of real issues, a real municipal program. Our proposals must be definitely linked up to the welfare of the rank and file of our citizens. The time for toy issues, for trifling proposals of minor betterment, is past; we must now strike to the roots, and strike hard. We are dealing with serious problems of misgovernment; we are battling with a "System" of special privilege and secret influence long entrenched. Our proposals must be adequate for the conditions. No one ever killed a Tiger with a toy pistol, and the Progressive Party does not propose to try. We will not join in any hunting expedition which refuses to carry weapons and ammunition suitable for the game! If any element in the community does not already understand this, the sooner they do understand it the better. This campaign must represent far more than mere opposition to Tammany Hall, far more than the proposition that virtue is better than vice, honesty better than graft and economy better than extravagance. These propositions are all right, so far as they go; recent events have given them unusual point and significance; but to win, or to deserve to win, our campaign must be for these things, and a great deal more! The difficulty which has attended so-called "fusion" movements in the past has too often been that its candidates represented no cohesion to a constructive program; they represented a temporary truce between discordant groups, with no agreement upon fundamental policies. Candidates and platform-makers were willing to denounce Tammany Hall as a convenient slogan for putting Tammany out of power and a "fusion" administration in; but these critics of the Tammany system were unwilling to propose or pledge anything which would end the conditions which they attacked during the campaigns. Out of office, they were loud in denouncing the Tammany system; in office, they were bound by no pledges to build anything better, and this sort of "fusion" naturally fell apart, either just before or just after the votes were counted. In the year 1913, there is no

use trying to bring about that kind of "fusion" in this town. The Progressive Party cannot afford, even temporarily, to make peace with any element or any leader with whom we are irreconcilably at war; the only kind of "fusion" that can be contemplated is a real co-operation, a natural alliance between harmonious groups in the several parties, who may be willing to join in putting forward candidates sincerely pledged to a program of constructive reform. The time for tissue-paper platforms is past; the people want pledges and not platitudes. To be attractive to the rank and file of the Progressive Party, if I correctly interpret their views as expressed through their representatives on the Platform Committee, the anti-Tammany fight of 1913 must represent more than a mere effort to continue some individuals in office and supplant some others by candidates nominated under anti-Tammany auspices. That kind of a campaign could hardly succeed in 1913, and could not be expected to accomplish much, even if successful at the polls.* Progressives believe in dealing with conditions, rather than the fortunes of individual candidates. To these ends, and from this point of view, your Platform Committee will submit to the Progressive City Convention a concrete program of constructive reform, and will recommend that no candidates be nominated upon the Progressive City ticket who will not specially subscribe to the pledges of that platform.

Third: The Platform Committee is, I think, a unit in the view that the platform should be confined to municipal issues; that is, to proposals which primarily and peculiarly concern the government of the City of New York and can be consummated only through the action of some or all of the officials to be chosen within the City of New York this fall. State-wide issues, matters of general legislation, partisan proposals of State or National platforms, will be given no place in our municipal platform, even though they incidentally affect the people of this City. No one will be given any right or reason to say that the Progressive Party is injecting into this municipal campaign any issue as to which the action of City officials is not required, and as to which the action of City officials chosen this fall might not be decisively determinative of the City's powers or policies.

*Professor William Bennett Munro, of Harvard University, has made this very clear in the illuminating chapter on "Municipal Reform" which concludes his volume on "The Government of American Cities" (1913). He says:

"Until very recent years, most organized reform movements approached things from a wrong angle. They complacently accepted the stupefying formulas of local government which they found in full sway, being always at great pains to forestall any possible public misgivings by professing their allegiance to the principle of divided powers and other such orthodox canons of political science. They assured the citizens that the existing machinery of city government was not seriously defective, but that the trouble lay wholly with the men who were in control of it. In their eyes, the obvious remedy was to oust from office those whose incompetence or lack of integrity had befouled the administration, and to put capable, honest, high-principled men in their room. Not the reconstruction, but the purification, of municipal politics, was long the goal of reform. But campaigns of civic betterment starting from this assumption and aiming at this result inevitably found themselves confronted with great difficulties. * * * The cause of reform was long misguided by the notion that municipal ills were personal matters, whereas in fact they lay far beyond the personnel of City government. They were organic, and their ravages continued despite year-to-year changes in the occupancy of official posts. Efforts inspired by the belief that individuals and not institutions were at fault naturally led to sterility in results. * * * Reform has gained in effectiveness as it has become impersonal, organic, and reconstructive."



Fourth: The Platform Committee has been a substantial unit in the view that any proposal which relates primarily and peculiarly to the municipal government of this City may properly have a place in a municipal platform this year, irrespective of whether such proposal may be carried out by the action of City officials alone or whether the co-operation of members of the Legislature is required. Not only are City and County officers to be elected, but substantially half of the next Assembly will be chosen, this fall, by the voters of Greater New York. Under present conditions, this City is bound hand and foot by legislative and constitutional restrictions; the divided responsibility and lack of accountability and multitude of details which distinguish the present Charter, are the bulwarks of the mal-administration upon which we wage war. If we would make the City truly free and really end Tammany mis-rule in this City, we must utilize every possible aid in this fight, and require every candidate on our ticket to pledge himself to do all in his power to carry out a real program of reform, and obtain whatever of legislative action or constitutional change may be required to bring that about. And if anyone suggests that these matters of legislation pertaining to our City are not matters upon which candidates for municipal office need be pledged, let me remind you that under the State Constitution no bill affecting primarily the government of the City of New York may become a law without being submitted for the approval or rejection of the Mayor of this City. So any proposal of change in our Charter, whether it be to establish longer tenure for the police commissioner or the status of elective administrative officials, becomes a matter upon which a candidate for Mayor should be specifically pledged.

Fifth: At the same time, the members of the Platform Committee have, as a rule, been keenly sensitive to the fact that we were framing a program for present administration, not a personal or partisan creed; a plan of battle, not a confession of ultimate faith. When you frame a party platform, particularly a Progressive platform, you choose your battle-ground, you select your weapons of warfare, both for yourself and for your opposition. A Platform Committee is no place for insistence on purely personal views. And so we have tried to lay aside mere personal creeds, and to work out the prevailing sentiment of the party into an effective fighting document, upon which we would deserve to win, but in behalf of which we could afford, if need be, to lose. We have sought to rally men of all parties to our support, not to alienate or repel them; we have sought to emphasize the points of sympathy and common belief with other civic elements; we have not felt at liberty to force those issues which would bring radical division even in our own ranks. We have felt warranted in including in our draft of a platform only those proposals as to which there appears to be substantial agreement on the part of the overwhelming majority of Progressives, and a natural accord on the part of the liberal-minded members of other parties and municipal groups. We have sought to unify and not to divide.

I know that it will nevertheless be said that the Progressive Party is seeking to force upon other civic elements an acquiescence in the endorsement of distinctive Progressive Party doctrines, as the price of the co-operation of Progressives in the campaign. For that charge there will, I believe, be little foundation. I do not know of any disposition on the part of many Progressives to urge the injection of "educational" issues which would only split our own forces and antagonize many citizens of genuinely liberal faith. I do not know of any disposition on the part of

many Progressives to insist upon the injection of this or that particular proposal about which men of progressive bent of mind may reasonably, and do, differ. The Progressive insistence is not so much upon the details of proposals, or upon particular proposals, as upon the requirement that, in essence and in aggregate, the platform shall represent a definite liberal alignment, a concrete basis of harmonious co-operation with those of any party who are working for the same ends in municipal administration.

What, then, are the effective fighting issues of this municipal campaign? Details of our platform recommendations I cannot give you at this time; but as I see it, the fundamental issue is to end the old order of things, and put the people in control of their City government. The people demand a new deal, a square and clean deal; they wish to stop every sinister and secret access to government; they are eager to boot the party boss off the back stairs; they seek to end the age of telephoned instructions to legislative and executive officials. The splendid work, just begun, in disrupting the relation between commercialized crime and commercialized politics, must be extended to every nook and cranny where the "System" still lurks. The constructive efforts which have been initiated, by the present Board of Estimate and Apportionment, to place the City government on a strictly business basis and give the people a full dollar's value for every dollar of public money expended, must be made an actuality of future administration and a potent weapon in the hands of those who seek to stamp out special favors and secret influence in the City government. Nor can we be content with the transitory and partial results which follow from merely an improvement in the personnel of present-day administration. The causes of objectionable conditions must be vigorously and practically dealt with, else we are false to our Progressive faith. We must not merely exclude the political machines from municipal control now, but seek to make it impossible for them to regain that control later. The relations between the National political parties and municipal administration must be effectually ended. National party names and emblems must be eliminated from the ballot in municipal primaries and elections. Municipal campaigns must be decisively divorced from National and State issues, through the establishment of a municipal election day in the spring. The Board of Estimate and Apportionment should be given adequate powers of government, and then its members held strictly responsible and directly accountable, through some suitable form of the recall, perhaps such as has been a wholesome influence in the larger cities of California, Iowa, and nearby New Jersey. Especially is there need that the Board of Estimate and Apportionment — which many persons consider a form of "commission government" well suited to so large a City — shall be given an actual control of the City budget, freed from legislative interference, to the end that the people may really have it in their hands to deal effectually with the officials responsible for perennial increases in tax burdens or for the observance of economy and simplicity in administration. The people should be given the right to invoke the referendum upon important franchise matters and contracts involving the private operation of public utilities. Perpetual franchises should be actively fought with every resource at the command of the City. Every public utility should be placed within the effective control of the City, by regulation and supervision, if possible, but by public ownership and operation, if need be. Immediate action should be taken for the protection and development of the commercial and industrial



supremacy of the Port of New [illegible]. Immediate act[illegible]d be taken to reduce the cost of ice to the people and ensure an adequate supply, through the construction of a municipal ice plant. The activities of the City, along lines formerly left exclusively to private enterprise, should, so far as possible, be placed on a self-sustaining basis, to the end that they may "pay their own way" and be at no time a burden to taxpayers. Immediate action should be taken to lower the cost and extend the service of such public utilities as electric lighting and telephone service. Transit facilities in many portions of the City should be substantially improved, and the powers of the City ought to be actively employed to that end, if need be. In every way within the proper scope of municipal action, the powers of the City must be progressively put forth for the relief of the economic and social conditions which harass and oppress its people. The City must do its part in restoring an economic freedom, in establishing an equality of commercial opportunity, and in making government minister to the welfare of its citizens. These are some of the things your Platform Committee has been considering, and endeavoring to present as fighting issues for this campaign.

A concrete instance of just the sort of thing which the Progressive Party may do in making municipal government minister to the welfare of the people, in ways which are reflected in the monthly budget of the householder, would be afforded by a history of the present agitation in this City for a municipal ice plant, to which I have referred. In this the Progressive Party took the lead, and others already seem likely to carry our proposal to some degree of fruition. For that we are only glad. In working out a feasible basis for the supplying of wholesome lunches to school children at cost prices, in the development of plans for municipal terminal markets to reduce the cost of living, in constructive efforts to shape public school education along lines of the maximum usefulness to all the pupils, in the study of problems of taxation, housing, city planning, and the like, the Progressive Party, through its party Committees, is performing real public service in the City of New York, along lines which vitally affect the daily lives of hundreds of thousands of people.

It remains to say a word as to the conception of political expediency which is guiding the work of the Platform Committee. What is its relation to the course of the Progressive Party in this municipal campaign? There are three suggestions which are made as to the course which our party may pursue:

The first is the "*go-it-alone*" policy, which advises that we nominate a partisan ticket upon a partisan platform and seek to perpetuate our party strength by polling a maximum party vote. For this suggestion, I have neither respect nor patience. If we insist upon the solidarity of *our* party organization in municipal affairs, we can have no complaint if the old party machines do likewise. As long as the National parties, as such, continue active in municipal affairs, both the City government and the National parties will suffer thereby. A real non-partisanship in municipal affairs — the united action of liberal forces without respect to party — has long been the essence of Progressive doctrine. The Progressive Party has no interests superior to those of good government in this great City, and you can never build up party strength by being blind to the immediate needs of four millions of people.

The second course suggested is "*fusion*" of the familiar sort, arrangement under which the leaders or representatives of the Re[illegible]

and Progr[illegible]rties would get toge[illegible]er, with a few Democrats of the "independen[illegible] variety, parcel out the offices, patch up a platform to "get in on," act together under a sort of armed truce until the votes are counted, and then each go their own way with their allotted share of the spoils. Experience with that sort of "fusion" has almost always been unsatisfactory. There is no adhesion to definite policies, no loyalty to a common cause. Instead of a plain program of well-considered proposals, to which each candidate has been pledged by the unified group which nominated and elected him, "municipl reform" becomes a batch of bungling expedients, born of the casual impressions of individual office-holders, and "jockeyed" through the legislative board of the City by "log-rolling" methods which suggest the old order rather than the new.

So, then, let us avoid the "go-it-alone" policy on one hand, which would place on us the responsibility for handing the City back to Tammany, and the "fusion" of "trades" and "dickers," on the other hand, which would bring us back into alliance with bosses whose personalities and policies we must always oppose. Let us rather pursue the "*straight ahead*" policy, which will bring us side by side with every citizen who believes in the municipal policies in which we believe, and will leave us face to face with every boss we are bound forever to oppose. Let us put measures above men, and principles above parties, and go straight ahead, in co-operation with every element in the community who believe as we do, and nominate a ticket composed of men of conspicuous ability, chosen without regard to party, but only with regard to their ability to carry out a program of constructive, liberal administration. Let us make our platform and our party the rallying point for every citizen of liberal faith.

Signs are not wanting that the hour of real municipal reform is at hand. The forces are mustering for what may prove the decisive battle between the old order and the new. In every Borough, in every Assembly District of this City, there are coming to the front new men, strong men, young men, clean men, men of spirit and courage, men who will not be bluffed and cannot be fooled men willing to step out on the firing line and fight this fight through to victory. Some time — this year, if we do our work aright — these men will get together and get in motion for common ends; when they do, things will come to pass such as New York has never seen before. In such a contest, there is no place, no need for party lines or party rivalries. We as Progressives must continue foremost in the fight, out on the firing line of unselfish effort, and then the beginning of 1914 will find the "System" smashed and the people in possession of every department of their government, with the way cleared for the great tasks of constructive reform which are ahead.

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